The Wexner Foundation in Israel

Report and Survey

Executive Summary

The Wexner Foundation has operated in Israel for around 30 years and is one of the most significant foundations for senior public servants in the State of Israel. Despite that, not many in Israel are aware of the power of this group or the political and legal aspects involved in its operations.

The foundation has intensified its operations in Israel in recent years and expects that within a decade it will triple its influence in Israel with the number of senior public servants who are part of the Wexner Senior Leaders (WSL) network expected to reach 1,000.

Members of the Wexner Foundation and Wexner program graduates, among them senior officials in public service, organize together through the WSL network. Through the network they operate in regards to various political/governmental issues not necessary related to their current positions and at times even organize as a group to resist elected officials and the political echelon.

Among the members of the WSL network today are senior officials in government companies, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Defense, and numerous other government ministries and authorities.

The Civil Service Commission has worked continuously in full cooperation with the foundation and has encouraged senior public servants, directors, and government ministry employees to participate in Wexner Foundation programs.

The cooperation between the Wexner Foundation and the Civil Service Commission is carried out without a formal tender and the senior public servants who participate in the programs receive significant benefits from the Wexner Foundation.

This report will highlight the cohesiveness among the members of the WSL network, detail cases where graduates of Wexner programs worked as a group to influence political or state decisions, and will raise concerns that the Wexner programs have been designed without proper oversight and contain a left-wing political bias.

Likewise, this report will deal with the damage resulting from the operations of the Wexner Foundation in Israel.

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Background

The Wexner Foundation operates two programs in Israel for senior officials in public service- the 'Wexner Senior Leaders' program and the 'Wexner Israel Fellowship.'[1]

- The Wexner Israel Fellowship was created in 1989 and every year, ten officials in public service in Israel participate. The foundation pays for the participants to study for a one-year Masters Degree in Public Administration at Harvard University. The stated goal of the program is to provide the next generation of Israeli leaders "with superlative training in public management and leadership development, thus enhancing the quality of democracy" in Israel.[2]
- The Wexner Senior Leaders program was created in 2015 and is also intended for senior officials in public service.[3] So far about 40 senior public servants have participated.[4] The goal of the program is to create a more concrete and immediate impact by targeting officials at higher levels who can quickly return to their posts and apply their new training.[5]

Through the end of 2017, around 370 senior public servants from Israel have participated in Wexner Foundation programs and the foundation expects to triple its influence over the next decade reaching over 1,000 graduates.[6]

Currently six IDF Generals, ten judges including one on the Supreme Court, and dozens of senior officials in the State Prosecutor's Office are all part of the WSL

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1 https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/programs

2 https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/programs/wexner-israel-fellowship

3 Advertisement about the program in a government newsletter from Feb. 2015, https://web.archive.org/web/20160628224304/http://www.csc.gov.il/DataBases/NewsLetters/NL28/Pages/TekesManagersProgram.aspx

4 For example, http://www.gmc.org.il/?CategoryID=492&ArticleID=1945

5 A blog post about the program from the Director of the Wexner Foundation in Israel, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/and-we-are-off-the-new-wexner-senior-leadership-program-

6 As stated in a video celebrating thirty years of the Wexner Foundation in Israel, https://www.facebook.com/RedBirdstudioisrael/videos/vb.629493190490714/1208432045930156/?type=2&theater

network. In addition, there are graduates of the program in NGOs including two Former Directors of the New Israel Fund, a Director of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, a Director of the Geneva Initiative, the Director of the Physicians for Human Rights group, and the heads of many other NGOs.[7]

Importance

In their publications, the Wexner Foundation claims that graduates of their programs have changed the face of Israeli society in terms of civil rights, watchdog organizations, education, security, and more.[8]

Many Wexner Fellowship Graduates describe their studying at Harvard during the program as a formative experience for them. For example, Gen. (res) Noam Tivon[9] said that the year at Harvard as part of the program was one of the most important years of his life.[10] Another graduate, Gidi Grinstein,[11] who founded the Reut Group, said that he conceived of the idea for the group during his time at Harvard.[12]

In official publications by the Wexner Foundation they explain that the program of studies offered to participants at Harvard enables them to "specialize in policy making."[13] One graduate of the fellowship explained that the studies at Harvard as well as the association with such a distinguished group of colleagues, leads graduates of the program to expand their vision and take responsibility.[14]

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[7] A complete listing of graduates of Wexner programs in the Justice, Defense and NGO sectors appears at the end of this document.

[8] Summary of an event commemorating thirty years of the Wexner Foundation in Israel, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/an-evening-to-remember-the-les-and-abigail-wexner-israel-tribute.

[9] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 13

[10] His speech at the ceremony commemorating 30 years of the Wexner Foundation in Israel, https://www.facebook.com/RedBirdstudioisrael/videos/1208432045930156/

[11] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 13.

[12] https://www.facebook.com/gideon.grinstein/posts/824031124358486

[13] For example, https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/policy/2005773/he/2005773.pdf and also from the publications of the Faculty of Law at Hebrew University, https://drive.google.com/open?id=1aXO33Y0j2Qy-oO_gZmHFc_17nEiBW7pD.

[14] https://www.sapir.ac.il/files/7a790acebf3213f6928cb60fd488471a/uploaded_content/15_conferences/KenneSderot/2006/7viewpoint07.pdf

Members of the WSL network meet from time to time with the participants informally to “discuss public policy and leadership issues in Israel”[15] and the Wexner Foundation also organizes “informal conversations on burning issues in Israeli society” among the participants.[16]

Creation of the Wexner Graduates Group by Head of the New Israel Fund

In December 1998, two Wexner Fellowship Graduates, Avinoam Armoni [17]and Eliezer Yaari[18] founded a nonprofit group for Wexner Graduates.[19] The stated goals of the ‘Wexner Graduates Group’ are: “Holding meetings among graduates of Wexner Foundation programs regularly, organizing seminars, lectures and training courses, and establishing professional development workshops for graduates. This is an educational and cultural organization.”[20]

Avinoam Armoni and Eliezer Yaari who founded the Wexner Graduates Group served one after another as heads of the New Israel Fund.[21] The Wexner Graduates Group was created in 1998, while Yaari was Director of the New Israel Fund.

In an article written by Wexner Graduate, Chana Himman-Pesach,[22] she describes the activities of Wexner Graduates and of the Wexner Graduates Group. Himman-Pesach explains that the group “allows for the development of collective consciousness and the formation of a network among the graduates.” She continues,

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15 https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/law-enforcement-during-times-of-war

16 https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/a-question-israelis-and-americans-share-should-refugees-and-immigrants-receive-free-healthcare

17 Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 1

18 Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 1

19 Registered Nonprofit 580331544

20 Available as appendix entitled “Registration and Goals Wexner Graduates Group,” which was retrieved from the Nonprofit Registry in Israel. Currently the ‘Wexner Graduates Group’ is in the process of being removed. See the Justice Ministry site, https://ica.justice.gov.il/Request/OpenRequest?rt=ExposeDocuments.
Armoni has continued to work on behalf of Wexner Graduates and spoke at the ceremony commemorating 30 years of the Wexner Foundation in Israel, https://www.facebook.com/ruth.wassermanlande/posts/1628223483879077.

21 Armoni headed the New Israel Fund from 1991-1997, http://www.kolzchut.org.il/w/he/images/8/89/%D7%90%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%A2%D7%9D_%D7%A2%D7%A8%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99_2011.pdfand Yaari ran it from 1997-2010, https://goo.gl/BN3DYG

22 Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 9

"The foundation and the nonprofit coordinate to run yearly programs for each graduating class at fixed times throughout the year. There is a reception for the fellowship graduating class in April-May, a picnic in October, a three-day long seminar in July with lecturers from Harvard, and other events. At each event, graduates are encouraged to bring their families. In addition, the foundation runs numerous programs for the current class in America to increase its group cohesiveness."[23]

Graduates of the program describe the social events of the Wexner Foundation and the meeting of the new graduates as the highlight of the year and as a significant experience.[24] Photos from the event indeed appear to show a warm atmosphere and a tight-knit group.[25]

The Wexner Fellowship Graduates in Israel have also formed a "Graduates Council" made up of fifteen members that meet twice a year to advance various interests.[26]

Summits and Recruitment as Agents of Change

In recent years, the Wexner Foundation has organized summits for the program graduates in Israel and the United States. The goal of these summits is to provide the graduates with a platform for cooperation on various important challenges facing the Jewish People.[27] So far there have been three such summits.[28] The topics were: Stronger Together (Re)Imagining the Israel-North American Jewish Community

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[23] The article by Himman-Pesach describing the foundation and the graduates group can be found in a collection of articles on young leadership in public service, https://www.sapir.ac.il/files/7a790acebf3213f6928cb60fd488471a/uploaded_content/15_conferences/KenneSderot/2006/7viewpoint07.pdf

[24] https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/a-liberating-way-to-form-an-identity

[25] https://www.facebook.com/2015center/posts/10204674071108447
https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10154281086596118&set=a.420002396117.195435.542
https://www.facebook.com/sandracsandra/videos/10153954775367898/

[26] This is in coordination with the U.S. Embassy in Israel and other parties https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/programs/wif-alumni-community-and-wsl-network-members/alumni-council-and-community

[27] https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/programs

[28] https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/programs/wexner-summits

Relationship,[29] Social Justice,[30] and Civil Discourse.[31] After each summit, the Wexner Graduates work to implement the conclusions reached during the discussions. Following the summit on the relationship between Israel and North American Jewry, the Wexner Foundation announced that they recruited individuals to work in groups as agents of change during the following year to revise the nature of the Israel-North American Jewry relationship.[32] To do this, the agents of change formed a covenant to work on the relationship between Israel and North American Jewry. The covenant consists of eleven Wexner Fellowship Graduates serving in senior public service roles, among them the Chief Criminal Prosecutor of the Jerusalem District Erez Padan,[33] Senior Assistant to the Legal Officer of the Ministry of Absorption Michal Leventhal Anderson,[34] and senior officials from the private sector such as the Director of the Geneva Initiative Gidi Baltianski,[35] the Director of the Movement for Freedom of Information Einat Horowitz,[36] and other graduates of the Wexner program in the US.[37]

In a document published by the covenant in April 2017, the members of the covenant describe themselves as official and unofficial representative of the State of

[29] Preliminary description of the summit, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/news/introducing-wexner-summits-the-network-in-action

[30] Preliminary description of the summit, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/news/applications-now-open-for-the-wexner-summit-on-social-justice

[31] Preliminary description of the summit, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/events/wexner-summit-on-civil-discourse

[32] Description of recruitment of agents for change, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/events/wexner-summit-stronger-together-live-from-zichron-yaakov

[33] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 26.

[34] Class of 2015 Wexner Senior Leaders.

[35] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 13.

[36] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 26.

[37] The full list of the 11 members of the covenant can be found here, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/aggressively-addressing-the-relationship-crisis-between-the-jewish-communities-in-israel-and-north-america-

Israel.[38] Among the points raised by the members of the covenant is one stating that the State of Israel should not only seek peace with her neighbors, but also vigorously chase after such peace. This, according to them, is because Israel must set an ethical and moral example even if there are risks and costs. Likewise, the members of the covenant mention time and again the obligations of the State of Israel to its Arab citizens and neighbors.

Activities on Jewish-Arab relations

The Wexner Foundation encourages its graduates to work on the issue of Jewish-Arab relations.[39] Program graduates have worked on some of the following projects in this realm:

Equitable Public Policy for the Arab Population

A three-day Wexner Conference dealt with the issue of the Arab Population in Israel. It was entitled "Promoting Equitable Public Policy for the Arab Population - Barriers and Opportunities." Many graduates of Wexner programs in senior public service roles spoke at the conference.[40]

Advancing Career Opportunities for Arabs in Israel

The 'Collective Impact' program for advancing career opportunities for Arabs in Israel was founded by the 24th Class of Wexner Graduates[41] in cooperation with the Lautman Foundation.[42] The founders of the program also connected with President Reuven Rivlin, who in February 2015 created the 'Tikvah Yisraelit' (Israeli Hope) program in Education, Academia, Industry and Sport. President Rivlin's program was based on the original program founded by the Wexner Graduates yet there was no mention of the link.[43]

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38 The report by the covenant can be found in the appendix as "Covenant Draft on the Relationship Between Israel and North American Jewry- Wexner Summit April 2017."

39 https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/alumni-network-focus-on-co-existence

40 https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/news/a-peek-into-the-wexner-israel-fellowship-alumni-institute

41 https://goo.gl/GwHeL7

42 http://www.lautmanfund.org.il/239/

43 On the website of the President, it says that the project was created after thorough research carried out over the course of a year by the Shaldor Consulting

Campaign by T'ruah against the JNF

A campaign was organized by the North American Organization "T'ruah" headed by Jill Jacobs[44], a Wexner program graduate,[45] against JNF activities in the 'West Bank.' The campaign was highly publicized by the Wexner Foundation and was described as a significant achievement by Wexner Graduate David Rosen[46], Vice President of the JNF in North America.[47]

It's Our Business

This project proposes to contribute to the advancement of the Two-State Solution to ending the Israeli-Palestinian. The project was organized by nine graduates of Wexner programs, among them former Director of the New Israel Fund Eliezer Yaari,[48] Director of the T'ruah Human Rights Group Jill Jacobs who received a Wexner Scholarship,[49] Uri Gofer who is connected to the Zochrot NGO that in the

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Firm, yet the involvement of the Wexner Foundation is not mentioned. https://www.israeli-hope.gov.il/collective-impact

[44] http://www.truah.org/about/our-people/staff/

[45] Class 11 in the Wexner Graduate Fellowship/Davidson Scholars Program.

[46] The campaign was highly publicized on the Wexner Foundation website, but was removed from the site and thus cannot be reached now. A saved version of the site appears in the appendix as "JNF Campaign, Google Cache as downloaded on September 17, 2017."
One can assume that this article appeared on the Wexner Foundation website at least one year as it was written in September 2016 and Google Cache saved the page in September 2017. Another article written on the Wexner Foundation website also mentions the article about the JNF Campaign, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/join-us-in-building-connections-for-social-change- , yet the link to the article about the JNF also no longer works but in any case was given by this link https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/Errors/Error404.html?aspxerrorpath=/blog/summit-for-social-justice-case-study--wheres-george.
Videos from the campaign can be found https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rS2crNL3IKc and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fz0ItkNZaec

[47] https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/heard-round-wexworld-tomorrows-leaders

[48] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 7.

[49] This is the same Jill Jacobs that operated the program against the JNF.

past organized programs for Senior Police Commanders through the Abraham Fund,[50] and other Wexner Graduates.

The founders of the program seek to bring Wexner Graduates on tours of the West Bank and act as a source of information for Wexner Graduates on events in the West Bank that do not jibe with the Two-State Solution and the goal of Israel as a light unto the nations. The project is described in depth on the Wexner Foundation website.[51]

Cooperation with Breaking the Silence

A "Large group of American Jews from the Wexner Foundation" participated in a tour organized by Breaking the Silence in Hevron and in a meeting with a "young activist against settlements."[52]

Elior Azaria Saga

As part of the meetings of the WSL network the members discussed the Elior Azaria saga. Among those in attendance was the Chief Army Prosecutor Sharon Afek,[53] Association for Civil Rights in Israel Director Sharon Abraham Weiss[54] and senior officers in the reserves.[55]

Subsidized Medical Treatment for African Infiltrators

As part of a meeting between Wexner Fellowship recipients studying at Harvard with Jewish philanthropists in Boston, the participants discussed the question of subsidized medical treatment for African infiltrators in Israel. Among those in attendance were Eyal Jacobson,[56] who actively works on public policy for the Health

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[50] T'ruah is now also connected with Breaking the Silence, http://www.nrg.co.il/online/11/ART2/811/715.html
[51] https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/its-our-business.com
[52] As reported by Breaking the Silence on their Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/shovrimshtika/photos/a.177693895592497.42427.161096657252221/663707976991084/?type=3&theater
[53] Class of 2015 Wexner Senior Leaders.
[54] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 23.
[55] https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/law-enforcement-during-times-of-war
[56] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 26.

Ministry, and Moshira Abu Diah[57] who is the Director of Physicians for Human Rights.[58]

Solidarity and Support for Members of the Group

Himman-Pesach describes the participants' beginning of their studies through the Wexner Fellowship as like "entering a family."[59] She explains that there is strong solidarity among the members of the group that derives from the "process of acceptance to the fellowship, the scope of the fellowship, and the institute of studies, which lead to the high prestige of the program. As a result, the graduates feel part of a distinguished group. The potential for trust as a 'group of equals' is quite high and any request sent to a fellow graduate is likely to be answered with affirmation."

The solidarity among group members is tested from time to time as Wexner Graduates serve in senior public service roles, which at times leads to conflict with elected officials. During these fights the Wexner Graduates show considerable solidarity with one another as illustrated by several examples:

<u>Condemnation of a Member of Knesset who criticized a Wexner Graduate</u>

After Member of Knesset (MK) Moti Yogev called on Wexner Fellowship Graduate, Justice Uzi Fogelman,[60] to "leave his judicial robes behind and join the (Arab) Joint List in whose spirit his legal decisions are written," fifty-five past and present senior public officials and graduates of Wexner programs sent a letter to Justice Minister Ayalet Shaked, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and Education Minister Naftali Bennett demanding that they condemn the words of Moti Yogev against Justice Fogelman.[61] The letter sent by the Wexner Graduates on behalf of Justice Fogelman, neglected to mention that Justice Fogelman himself was a graduate of the program (Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 1). In addition, the resume for Justice Fogelman on

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[57] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 28.

[58] https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/blog/a-question-israelis-and-americans-share-should-refugees-and-immigrants-receive-free-healthcare and http://d843006.bc470.best-cms.com/default.asp?PageID=82

[59] See the article by Himman-Pesach in this newsletter, https://www.sapir.ac.il/files/7a790acebf3213f6928cb60fd488471a/uploaded_content/15_conferences/KenneSderot/2006/7viewpoint07.pdf

[60] Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 1.

[61] https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/.premium-1.2763560

the judiciary website states that “in 1990 he completed a Master’s Degree in Public Administration at Harvard University in the United States,”[62] without mentioning the Wexner Foundation, which funded his studies. It is worth noting that a response from the Judiciary stated that they do not have any information that the master’s degree completed by Justice Uzi Fogelman was paid for by the Wexner Foundation as part of the Wexner Israel Fellowship program.[63]

Fogelman himself has not been barred from participating in cases involving fellow Wexner Graduates[64] and since the names of all “fifty-five past and present senior officials in public service” who wrote the letter supporting Justice Fogelman are not yet known, it is impossible to assess whether Justice Fogelman has presided in cases involving these same officials who came to his defense. Among the potential relevant cases, is one where Justice Fogelman ruled against the appointment of Ofra Bracha as Civil Service Commissioner after the Wexner Women’s Forum strongly resisted the appointment, as described below.

<u>Derailment of Civil Service Commissioner and replacement with a Wexner Graduate</u>

After it was announced that Prime Minister Netanyahu intended to appoint Ofra Bracha as Civil Service Commissioner,[65] a large media campaign was organized against the appointment claiming that Bracha lacked the necessary experience.[66] The Wexner Women’s Forum, which is formed of female past and present senior officials in public service, joined the campaign by writing to the Prime Minister demanding a Civil Service Commissioner appointee with the requisite experience running large organizations and with a background in public service.[67]

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[62] http://elyon1.court.gov.il/heb/cv/fe_html_out/judges/k_hayim/158313395.htm

[63] See appendix “Response from the Judiciary- Partial Information”

[64] For example, a case on the Gas Deal which was brought by Wexner Fellowship Graduate Orit Farkash HaCohen, http://go.calcalist.co.il/pic/contralmanager/gas.pdf

[65] http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5012132,00.html

[66] https://www.haaretz.co.il/1.4410832 and https://www.themarker.com/career/1.4410832

[67] https://www.themarker.com/1.4583362 and https://www.themarker.com/career/1.4410832

In addition, the Wexner Women's Forum created a list of individuals whom they felt were properly qualified for the position. It was reported that this list "reached the eyes of the relevant authorities."[68] Among those appearing on the list of Wexner Women's Forum recommended appointees for Civil Service Commissioner were:[69] Ron Tzur,[70] Michal Tzuk,[71] Tziyona Yair King,[72] and Rachel Tevet Weisel.[73] The Wexner Women's Forum described themselves as needing to "mobilize" on behalf of this issue.[74]

A "surprising and almost precedent-setting" ruling by a set of Supreme Court Judges headed by Justice Uzi Fogelman, a Wexner Fellowship Graduate himself, issued a restraining order barring the Commission from approving the appointment of Ofra Bracha as Civil Service Commissioner.[75]

Political Affiliation of Lecturers

From testimonials by participants in the Wexner programs in the United States, it appears that the lecturers in the programs primarily come from the liberal side of the political map. Further, they often blatantly express their views on political issues. The Head of Implementation of the Reform of the Civil Service Commission Ron Tzur,[76] stated, "I will show you the picture that emerges: There is hardly one lecturer who does not express either gently or bluntly their displeasure with the US Presidential Election and the problematic position of the United States."[77]

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68 https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001210572

69 The list of recommended appointees is available at https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001210572 and https://www.haaretz.co.il/1.4583362.

70 Class of 2017 Wexner Senior Leaders

71 Class of 2015 Wexner Senior Leaders

72 Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 24

73 Class of 2015 Wexner Senior Leaders

74 See the address by Attorney Aviyah Alef, who arrived together with members of the Wexner's Women's Forum to a hearing on the issue. This comment specifically appears in the proceedings from December 19, 2017 at 10:30AM on page 9, https://goo.gl/MqDfz8.

75 https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3732942,00.html

76 Class of 2016 Wexner Senior Leaders.

77 https://www.facebook.com/ron.tzur.16/posts/10154981022654654

Professor Ronald (Ron) Heifetz, who founded the 'Center for Public Leadership' at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, is considered one of the most prominent lecturers in the Wexner Israel Fellowship program. The Hebrew edition of his book, Leadership on the Line: Staying Alive through the Dangers of Leading, is the outgrowth of an initiative by several graduates of the Wexner Israel Fellowship.[78] Many of the participants in the Wexner Fellowship see Heifetz as a teacher and role model and relate to him with great admiration.[79]
When Heifetz spoke about Former US President Barack Obama, he emphasized, "I am obviously prejudiced when I speak about him. He is truly an important part of my worldview." Heifetz carries out research in the field of leadership and praises the idea of 'adaptive leadership,' which is distinguished from typical 'crisis management leadership.' For concrete examples of public figures who operated using adaptive leadership, Heifetz cites Ehud Barak leaving Lebanon, Ariel Sharon's disengagement from Gaza and Yitzchak Rabin's shaking hands with Arafat. Heifetz says that he wishes he could tell Prime Minister Netanyahu face-to-face, "When you insist on maintaining a feeling of crisis, you promulgate the fears of people, which then become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The State of Israel cannot move forward until it has a clear and robust agreement with the Palestinians. The time has come for new thinking from a different viewpoint."[80]
In Heifetz's view, there is a distinction between a 'leader' and an 'authority.' An authority seeks to act according to protocol and rules in order to provide safety/security/order to his supporters whereas a leader thinks outside the box in order to destroy precedents and create informal partnerships between parties that

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[78] http://www.text.org.il/index.php?book=0711071
[79] Wexner Graduate Gidi Grinstein said about Heifetz on his Facebook page, "He is my teacher in the realm of leadership and a worldwide guru on the matter. His book Leadership without Easy Answers is gospel for me. Amri Dagan, currently the Director of the Youth for Public Service Program, previously Associate Director at the Reut Group and the first employee at Reut, was raised at the footstep of Heifetz. He has applied the teachings, trained others in them, and acts in accordance to them. Amri is now getting to be with Ron Heifetz through the Wexner Foundation. Hooray Amri! Congratulations on having the opportunity to learn from the amazing Ron Heifetz. Proud of You!" https://goo.gl/gNBdSs
[80] https://www.themarker.com/career/1.550407

are outside of protocol. Following with this view, an authority is not always leader and a leader need not be a person with official authority.[81]

Many Wexner Fellowship Graduates have implemented the idea of leadership without authority in their public service roles, even to the point of conflict with the respective authority. Most cases of such practice have involved issues that are highly controversial among the Israeli public including examples from the following Wexner Graduates:

Yair Golan: The former Deputy IDF Chief of Staff[82], in a speech on Holocaust Remembrance Day, attacked Israeli Society claiming that actions taking place in Israeli society today are similar to those that took place in Europe before the Holocaust. Many condemned his comments. [83]

Orit Farkash Cohen: The former Director of the Israel Electricity Authority[84] strongly condemned the gas deal while serving in that role. She was fired as a result.[85]

Yonatan Tadmor: The Deputy Prosecutor for the Tel Aviv District (Taxation and Finance) and who according to media reports[86] is currently involved in Cases 1000 and 3000,[87] issued a strong condemnation of the State Prosecution's position on adoption of children by single-sex couples. Many others joined his protest against the State Prosecution.[88]

Eran Kamin: The Head of the Investigations Division in the Israeli Police strongly condemned the Police Recommendations Law. He claimed the law was written either out of ignorance or malice. Kamin's statements against the law were

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81 https://dannyorbach.com/tag/%D7%9E%D7%A0%D7%94%D7%99%D7%92%D7%95%D7%AA/
82 Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 14.
83 For example, https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/.premium-1.2934728
84 Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 18.
85 https://www.themarker.com/dynamo/1.2706214
86 http://www.mako.co.il/news-law/crime-q2_2017/Article-4b81e5284a9fc51004.htm
87 Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 27
88 https://news.walla.co.il/item/3081806

highlighted on the Facebook page of the Wexner Foundation under the title, "A quote from Eran Kamin, a member of our Senior Leaders Network."[89]

Wexner Foundation Staff

Several senior staff members lead the Wexner Foundation globally. Most notably are Leslie and Abigail Wexner who control the foundation and Elka Abrahamson who is President of the Wexner Foundation.

Notable members of the Wexner Foundation in Israel are Director General Ra`anan Avital, Former Director Deborah Housen-Couriel, Chairman of the Alumni Council of the Wexner Foundation Nadav Tamir, and Former Chairman Mike Blass.

<u>Leslie and Abigail Wexner</u>

Until recently they were considered significant donors to the Republican Party in the United States.[90] In September 2017, Wexner announced that he would only support political candidates who are willing to sign a commitment to act with civility. Reports noted that Wexner's demand came after United States President Donald Trump stated that both sides were to blame for a protest and counter protest involving Nazis in Charlottesville.[91] According to reports, Abigail Wexner donated to the inauguration ceremony of Former President Barack Obama.[92] Wexner's net worth is currently estimated at 6.5 billion USD.[93]

<u>Elka Abrahamson</u>

She has been President of the Wexner Foundation since 2011, prior to which she was Vice President. Leslie and Abigail Wexner described her appointment to

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[89] Facebook post from November 19, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1477326968983890&set=a.459306897452574.95961.100001198021180&type=3&theater

[90] A New York Times article on the topic, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/29/business/they-tilt-right-but-top-chief-executives-dont-give-to-trump.html and another article on his support for Mitt Romney https://bossip.com/606564/panties-and-politics-money-mitt-snags-campaign-donation-from-victorias-secret-ceo/

[91] http://www.dispatch.com/news/20170822/wexner-condemns-white-supremacists-in-speech-to-l-brands-workers and http://wcbe.org/post/trumps-charlottesville-comments-prompt-wexner-demand-civility-political-donees

[92] https://www.bizjournals.com/columbus/stories/2009/01/19/daily7.html

[93] As of January 4, 2018 according to Forbes, https://www.forbes.com/profile/les-wexner/?list=rtb

President as “straightforward and natural.”[94] Abrahamson is a Reform Rabbi and Newsweek named her one of ‘America’s 50 Most Influential Rabbis.’[95]

Abrahamson has made a habit of commenting on controversial issues including signing a petition against the selection of Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu as Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem for his alleged racism against Arabs[96] and another petition calling on Obama, President Elect at the time, to dedicate himself to creating a durable Palestinian State next to Israel.[97] On her Facebook page she has also frequently criticized President Donald Trump[98] in a particularly harsh manner. According to reports, Abrahamson donated several times to Hillary Clinton’s campaign for President.[99]

Ra’anan Avital

He began serving as Director of the Wexner Foundation in Israel in May 2014.[100] His name appears on the list of signatories to a petition by the left-wing NGO “Commanders for Israel’s Security.”[101] It appears that this is the same Avital who served as Director of the Wexner Foundation.[102]

Deborah Housen-Curiel

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[94] Announcement of her appointment, http://huc.edu/news/article/2011/rabbi-b-elka-abrahamson-huc-jirny-85-serve-president-wexner-foundation

[95] https://forward.com/sisterhood/137131/newsweek-list-takes-a-page-from-the-sisterhood-50/

[96] She is at the top of this list published by the New Israel Fund, http://action.nif.org/p/dia/action/public/index?action_KEY=9514&start=250

[97] http://studylib.net/doc/10092295/text-and-signers---brit-tzedek-v-shalom

[98] https://www.facebook.com/elka.abrahamson

[99]https://www.dropbox.com/s/jgnzoe4x1ixckak/%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%A9%D7%9C%20%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%A7%D7%94%20%D7%90%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%94%D7%9E%D7%A1%D7%95%D7%9F%20%D7%9C%D7%94%D7%99%D7%9C%D7%A8%D7%99%20%D7%A7%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%98%D7%95%D7%9F.pdf?dl=0

[100] https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/news/wexner-in-israel-supporting-more-leaders-introducing-new-leadership

[101] http://www.cis.org.il/members#.Wg3CLUoaaUk

[102] Determined based on the similarity of Avital’s Resume on the Wexner Foundation website describing him as a senior official in the Prime Minister’s Office, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/news/wexner-in-israel-supporting-more-leaders-introducing-new-leadership, with the description of the signatory on the petition as a Former Manager in the Prime Minister’s Office.

Preceded Avital as Director of the Wexner Foundation in Israel. She has previously stated that she wants to "eliminate racism in Israel."[103] She is a Board Member of the Tali Foundation operated by the Conservative Movement,[104] a member of Forum Dvorah,[105] and previously praised Ehud Olmert's Realignment Plan to disengage from most of the West Bank.[106]

Nadav Tamir

He is Chairman of the Alumni Council of the Wexner Foundation in Israel and a Wexner Graduate since 2015.[107] He was previously a policy advisor for Shimon Peres and is currently the Director of International Affairs for the Peres & Associates consulting firm.[108]

Tamir strongly criticized Israeli policy when he served in the Israeli Consulate in Boston. He was reported to have said, "There is a feeling among many in America that the Obama Government has been forced to deal with stubbornness by the Iranian, North Korean, and Israeli governments."[109]

Mike Blass

Blass served as Chairman of the Alumni Council of the Wexner Foundation prior to Tamir.[110] He is also a former Deputy Attorney General.

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103 https://www.supersonas.com/personas/%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%93-%D7%93%D7%91%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%94-%D7%94%D7%90%D7%95%D7%A1%D7%9F-%D7%9B%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%90%D7%9C/

104 http://www.tali.org.il/content/%D7%95%D7%95%D7%A2%D7%93

105 The group was founded in 2009 with support from the American group, The Institute for Inclusive Security. It was founded in the spirit of UN Resolution 13255 calling for more involvement of women in efforts to maintain peace and security, https://web.archive.org/web/20171001191641/http://www.forumdvorah.org.il

106 http://reut-institute.org/en/Publication.aspx?PublicationId=480

107 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nadav_Tamir

108 https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3657575,00.html

109 Reported here http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3758417,00.html, his full remarks can be found below http://web.archive.org/web/20090823163728/http://my.ynet.co.il/pic/news/06082009/Binder1.pdf

110 Wexner Israel Fellowship Class 14, http://public-policy.huji.ac.il/%D7%A1%D7%92%D7%9C/%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%99%D7%A7_%D7%91%D7%9C%D7%A1#page-152

He is considered to be hated by the Israeli right wing[111] due to several policy politically controversial decisions. Among these were his recommendation to apply the Fourth Geneva Convention to Judea and Samaria, his support of a train line between Gaza and Ramallah, supporting a stoppage to the removal of trash from Jerusalem to Abu Dis, opposition to giving reparations to Jews whose homes were on land to be given to the Palestinian Authority during the Oslo agreements, expansion of Disruptive Land Use Orders, his support of the Gaza Expulsion, opposition to returning assets to families of Jews murdered in Hevron in 1929, and other issues.[112]

Wexner Foundation Funding

The Wexner Programs in Israel and the United States are operated by the Wexner Foundation, which is a registered nonprofit in the United States. According to official documents submitted by the foundation to US Authorities, the Wexner Foundation's budget in 2015 was 15,180,529 USD.[113]

According to these documents the primary donors to the Wexner Foundation were: The Wexner Family Charitable Fund, which donated 9 million USD in 2015; Leslie Wexner, who personally donated 2 million USD in 2015; the William Davidson Foundation, which donated 2.3 million USD in 2015;[114] and the Jim Joseph Foundation, which donated 764,000 USD in 2015.[115] The documents also state that the Wexner Foundation spend 1,655,811 USD.[116]

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[111] https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/1.1877920

[112] A media expose entitled the "Rule of Public Official Mike Blass" http://www.news1.co.il/Archive/002-D-57274-00.html and "Shadow Advisor", http://www.news1.co.il/Archive/0024-D-57273-00.html

[113] Form 990 is available from Guidestar, http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2015/237/320/2015-237320631-0d0e15bb-F.pdf

[114] The Wexner Foundation and the Davidson Foundation operate a joint program focusing on Jewish Professional Leadership in the United States, https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/programs/wexner-graduate-fellowship-br-davidson-scholars-program thus it would seem that the funds from the Davidson Foundation are for that purpose and unrelated to Wexner Foundation programs in Israel.

[115] The Wexner Foundation and the Jim Joseph Foundation also run a joint program for Jewish Communal Professionals in North America,

Relations between the Wexner Foundation and the Civil Service Commission

In January 2015, the Israeli government decided to appoint a Commission headed by the Chief of Staff of the Prime Minister's Office to assess the professional level of senior officials in public service in Israel and provide the government with strategic recommendations on how to build future human capital. The Commission was tasked with making a broad assessment in regards to public service, government employees, local councils, security forces, government companies, statutory corporations, and other government funded entities.[117]

In July 2015 a draft of the report was published,[118] then in April 2016 the Commission published its finding and recommendations in a report titled "Atudot LeYisrael" [Israeli Reserves],[119] and finally in July 2016, the government decided to implement the recommendations of the report.[120] In the draft prior to the final report, the Commission noted that leadership training programs such as those operated by the Wexner Foundation and others are likely to be influenced by particular interest groups,[121] yet this note was removed from the final report adopted by the government.

State Support but no Oversight

The Division for Senior Education and Training in the Civil Service Commission, together with Wexner Foundation representatives in Israel, meets with government ministries in order to find appropriate candidates that meet specific criteria set by the Civil Service Commission and the Wexner Foundation to fill important roles.

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https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/programs/wexner-field-fellowship thus it would also seem that the funds from the Jim Joseph Foundation are for that purpose and not related to Wexner Foundation programs in Israel.

116 Page 7 at http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2015/237/320/2015-237320631-0d0e15bb-F.pdf

117 Government decision 2424 from January 25, 2015 on the Prime Minister's Website

118 The report draft can be found here, https://goo.gl/7TTXgT

119 The final report can be found here, http://www.pmo.gov.il/BranchesAndUnits/direcgeneral/Documents/AtudotLeIsrael.pdf

120 Government decision 1653 from July 10, 2016 on the Prime Minister's site, http://www.pmo.gov.il/Secretary/GovDecisions/2016/Pages/des1653.aspx

121 Page 98 of the report

Appropriate candidates in public service who receive approval from the Central Training Committee and who pass preliminary assessments, are invited to interview before a Selection Committee formed of representatives from the Wexner Foundation, public officials, and representatives from the Civil Service Commission.[122]

The Commission views participation in Wexner programs as a path for advancement[123] and it was even suggested that the state create a database of Wexner Graduates and graduates of similar programs as a "source of talented individuals suitable for senior positions."[124] The state encourages senior officials in public service to participate in Wexner Programs[125] and makes clear that such participation will enhance the ability of the individual to advance their career. The Civil Service Commission previously stated, "In light of the views of the Civil Service Commission with respect to the roles of senior officials, and as part of the program to improve the professional level of government offices, we view the participation of individuals holding appropriate public service positions in Wexner programs as highly important."[126]

Senior officials in public service who participate in Wexner programs continue to receive their usual salary in accordance with their position throughout the year that they are studying at Harvard.[127] A study carried out in light of the granting of

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[122] An example report summarizing activities of the Civil Service Commission in 2016 [page 212], https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/reports/full_report2016/he/fullReport2016_0.pdf

[123]Letter from the appointee on Advancement of Women in Public Service https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/policy/2005337/he/2005337.pdf

[124] Report by the Committee on Advancement of Women in Public Service, June 2014, page 3, http://www.pmo.gov.il/Secretary/Documents/women080614.pdf

[125] Report from the Training, Education, and Welfare Division from 2005, page 212, https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/reports/report2005/he/report2005.pdf

[126] For example, a publication by the Civil Service Commission on the 29th round of the Wexner Fellowship from the Commission website, https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/policy/education22-2016/he/education22-2016.pdf

[127] For example, a publication by the Civil Service Commission on the 29th round of the Wexner Fellowship, page 3,

salaries to participants in Wexner programs found that the state paid around 502,000 NIS in salary to one Wexner Israel Fellowship participant while studying abroad.[128]

Despite the participation of the state in subsidizing the salary of those studying through the program, no tender was issued, nor has there been a prior publication as required by law in order to assess the other various organizations that could offer a similar program for senior officials in public service at Harvard or another university.

The Civil Service Commission is not a full partner in the acceptance of candidates and only participates at the end of the process. Further the Civil Service Commission is unaware if aside from the criteria publicized by the Commission there are additional criteria set for candidates by the Wexner Foundation. In addition, the Civil Service Commission is completely uninvolved in the process of appeal by candidates who were rejected from the program.[129]

The Civil Service Commission was requested to provide current information on the identities of the individuals from the Civil Service Commission who are part of the Selection Committee but refused to provide that information.[130]

Prof. Itamar Rabinovich,[131] Former President of Tel Aviv University, headed the Selection Committee of the Wexner Foundation for many years. Rabinovich is considered close to Ehud Barak and claims were even made that Barak used his relationship with Rabinovich in order to advance his personal friends through the Wexner Foundation.[132]

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https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/policy/education22-2016/he/education22-2016.pdf

128 http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART/781/004.html

129 Responses 5.1 and 5.3 in the appendix "Information from the Civil Service Commission- response to the Lavi Organization"

130 Response 5.2 in the appendix "Information from the Civil Service Commission- response to the Lavi Organization"

131 https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/policy/2010403/he/2010403.pdf

132 https://library.osu.edu/projects/hebrew-lexicon/hbe/hbe00630.php and http://drucker10.net/?page_id=1295

It is also worth mentioning that in 2006 Ehud Barak received $800,000 for a research project carried out on behalf of the Wexner Foundation despite the fact

Benefits Provided by the Wexner Foundation to Program Participants

Aside from the salary that Wexner Israel Fellowship participants receive from the state, the Wexner Foundation provides participants with a large and particularly generous scholarship. The scholarship includes full tuition at Harvard and other payments required to the University, expenses for flights from Israel to Boston and back, health insurance for participants and their families, a generous stipend for the participants and their families, additional assistance for each child for those families with children,[133] and finally, participants have reported receiving rental assistance for a home in the Boston area during their year at Harvard.[134]

Participants in the Wexner Senior Leaders program also receive significant benefits and the Wexner Foundation subsidizes all costs of the program.[135]

The large scholarships provided by the Wexner Foundation to senior public officials raise questions with regards to the Law Regulating Civil Servants (gifts), 1979, which outlines the rules regarding gifts and benefits given as gifts to public servants.[136]

Despite the fact that the amounts given in scholarship funding and benefits to senior officials involve particularly large sums, the Civil Service Commission is not able to assess the value of the Wexner Fellowships given to senior public servants and refused to answer our question regarding whether the Commission ever attempted

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that no results of this research were ever published, https://www.facebook.com/tomer.avital1/posts/10154578243476271

133 Harvard Prospectus [page 7], https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/policy/2005773/he/2005773.pdf

134 Forum post by a woman claiming to be a spouse of a Wexner Fellow, stating that the rental assistance was 34,000 USD, http://www.tapuz.co.il/forums/viewmsg/456/178118119/%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%9D_%D7%91%D7%97%D7%95%60%60%D7%9C/%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D_%D7%9C%D7%90%D7%A8%D7%A6%D7%95%D7%AA_%D7%94%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%AA

135 A commitment by the Wexner Foundation to cover all costs of the program can be found in the appendix, "Memorandum of Understanding 2014"

136 Law Regulating Civil Servants (gifts), 1979, https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/Law01/P221K4_001.htm

to calculate the value of the benefits given to senior public servants by the Wexner Foundation.[137]

According to Wexner Israel Fellowship Graduate Chana Himman-Pesach, “There is a strong desire among graduates of the program to provide a ‘return on investment’ and justify the investment in them by participating in activities and volunteering through the Wexner Foundation or other organizations.”[138]

Wexner Program Graduates in Senior Civil Service Positions

Hundreds of recipients of the Wexner Israel Fellowship can be found in very senior positions in the private and public sectors, the Defense, Justice, Finance, Education, and Health Ministries, and other government offices and authorities.

To illustrate the senior positions of Wexner Israel Fellowship and Wexner Senior Leaders Graduates, we provide some examples of the positions held by these individuals in the defense, judicial, and private sectors.

Generals and Brigadier

Current Deputy Chief of Staff General Aviv Kochavi; Former Deputy Chief of Staff Yair Golan; Head of Northern Command General Yoel Strik; Ground Forces Commander General Yaakov Barak; Homefront Commander General Tamir Yadi; Northern Corp and Military Colleges Commander General Amir Baram; Former Military Intelligence Chief General (res) Amos Yadlin; Navy Commander and Former Head of the General Security Services General (res) Ami Ayalon; Former Northern Corp Commander General (res) Noam Tivon; Former Military Colleges Commander General (res) Yossi Beiditz; Former Depth Corp Commander General (res) Shai Avital; Former Navy Commander General (res) Yedidia Yaari; Former Head of Planning General (res) Nimrod Shafar; Chief Military Prosecutor Brigadier General Sharon Afek; Former Chief Education Commander Brigadier General (res) Eli Sharmeiter; Gaza Division Commander Brigadier General Yehuda Fuchs; Officer

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137 Section 2 in Appendix, ““Information from the Civil Service Commission- request by the Lavi Organization” and the Commission response “Information from the Civil Service Commission- response to the Lavi Organization”

138 The article by Himman-Pesach, https://www.sapir.ac.il/files/7a790acebf3213f6928cb60fd488471a/uploaded_content/15_conferences/KenneSderot/2006/7viewpoint07.pdf

Training School Commander Brigadier General Avi Gil; Fire Brigade Commander Brigadier General Uri Gordon; Chief IDF Censor Brigadier General Ariela Ben Avraham.

Security Forces

Deputy Director General of the Ministry of Defense and Head of the Department of Human Resource Management Itamar Graf; Head of the Ministry of Defense Export Control Division Dovi Lavi; Former Head of Israel National Defense College Moshe Keinan; Former General Security Services Chief of Operations Arik Tchernichovsky; Head of Police Operations Alon Levavi; Head of Investigations Division in the Israeli Police Eran Kamin; Head of the Financial Investigations Division Commander Yoav Telem; Former Commander of the Galilee Region Nir Mariash.

Courts

Supreme Court Justice Uzi Fogelman; Central District Court Judge Dana Marshak Marom; Central District Court Judge Dafna Avnieli; Central District Court Judge Ofer Groskopf; Tel Aviv District Court Judge Halad Kavov; Central District Court Judge Bilha Tolkovsky; Jerusalem Magistrate Court Judge Moriah Charka; Tel Aviv Magistrate Court Judge Daniela Sharizli; Hadera Magistrate Court Judge Yaakov Goldberg.

State Prosecutors

Head of Supreme Court Cases Division in the State Prosecution Osnat Mandel; Head Legal Advisor and Head of the Administrative Law Division Avital Sternberg; Former State Prosecutor Moshe Lador; Deputy State Prosecutor [Special Roles] Nurit Littman; Deputy State Prosecutor [Civil Affairs] Orit Kotav; Deputy State Prosecutor [Financial Enforcement] Yehuda Sheffer; Director of the International Affairs Department of the State Prosecutor’s Office Yuval Kaplinsky; Director of the Criminal Department of the State Prosecutor's Office Yosef Ash; Head of Criminal Affairs of the State Prosecutor’s Office Naomi Katz Lulav; Director of the State Prosecutor’s Management Office Yariv Regev; Head of Strategic Affairs at the Department of Special Assignments Tal Werner Kling; Director of the Real Estate Legal Enforcement Department of the State Prosecutor’s Office Hovav Artzi; Southern District Criminal Prosecutor Tzion Iluz; Tel Aviv District Deputy

Prosecutor [Taxation and Finance] Yonatan Tadmor Elya; Tel Aviv District Prosecutor's Office Special Appointee [Taxation and Finance] Etti Ben Dor; Jerusalem Prosecutor's Office Criminal Division Head Erez Padan; Appointee to the Finance Division of the State Prosecutor's Office Tamar Rossman.

Legal Advisors

Former Deputy Attorney General Mike Blass; Department of Legislation and Advising Head Eyal Zandberg; Senior Deputy to the Legal Advisor for the Prime Minister's Office Yael Cohen; Former Legal Advisor to the State Comptroller Nurit Yisraeli; Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Environmental Protection Dalit Dror; Legal Advisor to the Authority Regulating Bedouin Settlement in the Negev Eliad Wainshall; Securities Authority Legal Advisor Amir Wasserman; Former Legal Advisor to Channel 2 Television and Radio Doron Avni.

Justice Department

Former Director General of the Ministry of Justice Moshe Shilo; Deputy Director General of Planning and Strategy Eldad Kanti; Head of Internal Affairs Uri Carmel; Deputy National Public Defender Anat Horowitz; Former Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner Ziona Koenig Yair.

Private Organizations

Former Executive Director of the New Israel Fund Eliezer Yaari; Former Executive Director of the New Israel Fund Avinoam Armoni; Director of the Geneva Initiative Gadi Baltiansky; Direction of Physicians for Human Rights Moshira Abu Diah; Founder of the Reut Institute Gidi Grinstein; Association for Civil Rights in Israel Director Sharon Avraham Weiss; Former Director of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and Founder of Women Lawyers for Social Justice Rachel Benziman; Director of the Movement for Freedom of Information Einat Horowitz; Joint Israel Director Yossi Tamir; Director of the Mandel Center in the Negev Adi Nir Sagi; Director of the Center for Security and Democracy at the Israel Democracy Institute Eli Bechor; Director of Strategy and Planning at the Yad Hanadiv Fund Daniel Taub; Chairman of Hashomer HaHadash Ram Shmueli ; Director of the Tali Foundation Ran Shikli; Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tali Foundation Roni Yanai; Former Chairman and Director of the Dafna Fund Dorit Karlin; Director of the Darca

Schools Network Gil Pereg; Director of the Israeli Ministry and Global Relations of the Jewish Federation of San Francisco Barak Luzon; Director of the Hagar Association: Jewish-Arab Education for Equality Uri Gopher; Collective Impact Founder Yifat Ovadia.

Bibliography

The information presented in this report is based on documents obtained exclusively by the Lavi Organization which are presented as appendices to this report:[139]

Request filed by the Lavi Organization with the Civil Service Commission in accordance with the Freed of Information Act.
Appendix: "Information from the Civil Service Commission- request by the Lavi Organization"

Response from the Civil Service Commission to the request by the Lavi Organization in regards to the amounts of the Wexner Fellowship, the identities of those on the Selection Committee, the criteria for acceptance to the program and more.
Appendix: "Information from the Civil Service Commission- response to the Lavi Organization"

Response by the Civil Service Commission to a request by the Lavi Organization for information in regards to understandings between the Civil Service Commission and the Wexner Foundation.
Appendix: "Memorandum of Understanding 2014"

Response from the Judiciary in regards to judges whose studies were supported by the Wexner Foundation.
Appendix: "Response from the Judiciary- Partial Information"

List of ministries participating in the Wexner Fellowship program from the Civil Service Commission in response to a request by the Lavi Organization.

[139] These documents can all be seen here, https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1P9iN-2nBe56RVLUi5V03nfbXjSQUMA4N

Appendix: “List of Ministries Participating in the Wexner Fellows Program from 2004-2015”

Publications by the Civil Service Commission of the Call for Participation in the Wexner Fellowship.
Appendix: “Wexner Fellowship   Civil Service Commission Sample Publication”
Appendix: “Wexner Senior Leaders   Civil Service Commission Sample Publication”

The positions of the graduates from information provided by the Civil Service Commission, the Justice Department, and the Judiciary in response to requests filed by Attorney Avichai Boaron, Attorney Doron Nir Tzvi, and the writer on behalf of the Lavi Organization.
The response of the Civil Service Commission is missing because some of the graduates objected to the Commission revealing their identities and their participation in the Wexner Israel Fellowship. Therefore alternative searches were carried out to determine the names and public service positions of those absent from the list sent by the Civil Service Commission. The response from the Judiciary was also partial and does not include the names of judges who participated in the Wexner Israel Fellowship program.
Appendix: “Names and positions of alumni from the Justice Department”
Appendix: “Response from the Judiciary Partial Information”
Appendix: “Names and Positions of Alumni from the Civil Service Commission”
Appendix: “Names of Wexner Fellowship Participants- Classes 1-28”
Appendix: “Names of Wexner Fellowship Participants- Class 29”
Appendix: “Names of Wexner Senior Leaders Participants- 2015-2017”

Documents from the Nonprofit Registry in regards to the founding of the Wexner Graduates Group nonprofit by Directors of the New Israel Fund.
Appendix: “Registration and Goals Wexner Graduates Group”

Covenant draft between the State of Israel and North American Jewry written by Wexner Fellows.
Appendix: "Covenant Draft on the Relationship Between Israel and North American Jewry- Wexner Summit April 2017."

Publication of campaign against the JNF by the Wexner Foundation.
Appendix: "JNF Campaign, Google Cache as downloaded on September 17, 2017."